1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

use very powerful staves of *dhaman* (*Grewia tiliaefolia*) wood, the bow when strung measuring 6 feet from horn to horn. Of the Hill Maria staves measured by me, the thickest circumference varied from 6·5 to 9 cm. All the bows which I have seen are plain bows, used for spear-arrows and club-arrows; I have never seen any compound, composite or pellet bows. The back of the stave is the natural curved exterior of the bamboo; the belly is pared flat. The string is a carefully sliced piece of the outside of a green bamboo cut with a portion of the natural knots at each end trimmed into knobs, round which loops of twine[1] made from the fibre of the *siari* (*Bauhinia vahlii*) creeper are tied in notches (*kiddi* in both dialects) 25 to 40 mm. from the tips of the horns. One loop is permanently bound to the notch of the lower horn, the free loop being only sprung into the upper notch when the bowman strings the bow by resting the lower horn on the ground and bending the stave by holding his knee in its belly and pulling the upper horn towards him. The *lower* horn is called *modol* or *talla*, i.e. head, and the *upper* horn *kodi* ('point') or *toqa* ('tail').

In the Abujhmar mountains the longest bowstring which I measured was 135 cm. from notch to notch, and the shortest, a child's bow, 110 cm. The greatest distance from the belly of the stave to the string of a bow strung but not drawn was 10 cm.

Arrows are called *handi* by the Hill and *kar* by the Bison-horn Marias; this refers to spear-arrows only. *Kar* strictly means the arrow-head only, the Bison-horn Marias having no separate word for the whole arrow. The other terms used are:—

Term	Hill Maria	Bison-horn Maria
Arrow-head	*kani*	*kar*
Barb	*kewu*	*kew*
Shaft	*kand-mari*	*kara*
Shaft-nock	*ihsal*	*pisel*
Feathering	*kand-toqoshu*	*kar-gerring*
Club-arrow	*bilo*	*milom-kara*
Head of club-arrow	*bonka*	*milom*

The Hill Maria spear-arrows have a total length of 56 to 59 cm., that of their club-arrows varying from 51 to 64 cm. The Bison-horn arrows are longer in shaft and head, like their bows. Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, Figure 2, on page 86, are full-size representations of typical Abujhmar arrow-heads. The wings curve convexly or concavely from point to tips of barbs. The Bison-horn Maria arrows are similar in shape, but are far larger, often measuring 15 cm. or more from the point of the blade to the head of the tang, have longer barbs, and are therefore slenderer in both blade and barb. All

[1] Used in the technical sense of the word.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

It may be observed that in these specimens and in the *Linguistic Survey* records there is far less borrowing from Aryan languages than in the Gondi folk-tales, stories and songs printed in Volume II of Trench's *Grammar*. In my specimens there are two corruptions of English words which have become current through excise and police practice respectively, *bōtāl* (bottle) and *rapōṭ* (report). Fairly recent Hindi or Halbi borrowings (as distinct from long acclimatized words of Sanskrit origin like *mīn* (fish), *wijjā* (seed) or *bēsh* (good)) found in my specimens are *ḍōkrā* (old man), *ḍōkrī* (old woman), *dinām* and *dināl* (daily), *kabāṛ* (work), *khush* (pleased), *tiyār* (ready), *bichār* (thought), *milē-māsī* (together), *sarkār* (authorities), *lagā* (fastened), and *rāzī* (contented).

I have not collected any specimens of Bison-horn Maria language, nor have I the qualifications to attempt any sketch of the grammars of the two dialects. The Hill Maria specimens that follow were recorded under my supervision by Sampat Singh, my interpreter, in the villages of Orcha and Hikul in the Abujhmar hills in March 1934, the records being corrected with the aid of the Hill Marias in my camp.

Two Stories, from Hikul Village

I. The Monkey Son-in-law

Uṇḍ nāgā mattā. Ḍōkrī- mu'ittā maṭṭā, ōrā uṇḍ miyāṛ
One village was. Old-woman-old-woman was, hers a daughter

mattā. Ad pīkī layā mattā. Ḍōkrī- mu'ittā ad pīkī-tun
was. That girl maiden was. Old-woman-old-woman that girl

bōn-kē hēwī mattā. Uṇḍ mēṭā-tā uṇḍ kōwē ḍōkrī-mu'ittā-
anyone-to giving-not was. A mountain-from a monkey old-woman-

nagā pīkī-may-dē lām wātā. Ḍōkrī-mu'ittā
old-woman-to girl-for bride-servitor came. Old-woman-old-woman

kētā, 'Nīmā bārā-kīyā wātōq. kōwā?' Kōwā ittoq, 'Illē,
said, 'You what-for have-come, monkey?' Monkey said, 'No,

māmō, bēnōrē lām tā'tēq, nannā paṛī tūngānā-may-dē
father's-sister, anyone bride-servitor will-keep, I work doing-for

mandākān.' Ḍōkrī-mu'ittā bichār kitā, 'Māwā-igā paṛī kiyānōr bōgh
will-stay.' Old-woman thought-made, 'Me-with work doer anyone

illē; pīkīn-may-dē kōwā baranjā-tun tā'kān.' Injōr vēāktā,
not; girl-for monkey son-in-law-for I-will-keep.' Then she-said,

'Mākū paṛī kis, tihtānūr.' Kōwā-ku tāstōq. Kōwā vēāṭtōq,
'Me-for work do, I-will-feed.' Monkey she-kept. Monkey said,

'Māmā, nā-kū uṇḍ maqsu par-ēm; pēndī naṛkān.'
'Father-in-law, me-to an axe made-give; penda-clearing I-will-cut.'

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THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL

At midnight the umagaji bird cried *Ha huhu*. The girl shrieked with fright and said, 'O Lakari, let me sleep near you, for I am afraid'. Then the bird cried again and the girl said, 'What is the bird saying?' Lakari replied, 'It says "Drive on, drive on!"'. So now there was no mother, no father, there was no one in the world, and he went to her. From the bird's talk came the boy's copulation. Every time the bird cried, the girl clung again to Lakari.

In this way Lakari took each of the girls in turn, and at last every one was pregnant and he had seven score sons. When the boys were old enough to earn their living, Lakari got bullocks for them. In this way family life began and villages were formed, because a girl was frightened of a bird.

II. The Anatomy and Mythology of Sex

The Muria seem to have a rather sketchy knowledge of the sexual organs and their functions. They have no idea of the purpose of the testes or of the existence of the hymen. They do, however, recognize the clitoris and understand its function. Their vocabulary is limited, but sufficient to cover the main points of the external genitalia.[1] They have half-a-dozen words for the penis, three or four for the vagina (the most popular simply means 'the lower part of something'), and words for the labia majora (*pude adawing*, vagina flesh), the urethra (*urkul bukha*, urine hole) and the clitoris (*titiguta*, a word which like its Graeco-English equivalent probably has reference to the organ's power of erection and excitement). The Muria word for orgasm is *pusi* or *wijja pesina*, 'the coming out of the seed'.

There is no word for love in Gondi. The Muria use the Chhattisgarhi word *māya* and sometimes *pirit* or *perem*, which are simply corruptions of the ordinary Hindi words. But neither do they have any words for lust or desire, and for erotic excitement use expressions that are only descriptive of the physical sensations of sex—*penda hohalta* said of a girl means that her 'vagina is itching'; *bonde dohalta* that the 'penis is quivering'. The expression *girda kiyāna* is sometimes used for 'making love'; *girda* means 'pleasure' or 'liking'. *Girda ator* can be used in the sense of 'being in love'. But abstract and emotional terms are rare in Gondi, as in most primitive languages.

Sexual riddles are interesting as showing how direct and forthright are the Muria's references to the genitals and sexual intercourse.

Chapti pakna gohivailaisek.
The flat stone itches.

—The vagina.

Sulung dandi bundle burza.
The pole is long, its bottom is black.

—The penis.

Kondāng lewa boteng.
The fish that has no eyes.

—The penis.

[1] I notice that our authorities often confuse the names of the genitalia, perhaps because the tribes themselves, like the British and French, use a bewildering variety of synonyms for them. Ward gives as Gondi words *prasi* or *munchelse* for the 'affections', *aiya halatur* for 'beloved', and *natilla* for 'to kiss'. There are no such words in Trench's vocabulary.

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less the expression of outraged temper than a final and complete protest against a loss of dignity.[1]

It must not be supposed that because quarrels arise over work, chelik and motiari are slack or lazy. They are in fact singularly laborious and the disputes about work stand out because they occur against a background of a very high tradition of industry.

It is very rare that these quarrels end in murder. One day at the end of the rains in 1932, Kodu came home tired and hungry from the fields. His elder brother's wife, Bahe, had only got *jāwa* ready for him: he demanded rice, and she retorted that 'since his arms and legs were not broken, he might cook his food himself'. He replied that as long as there was a woman in the house he was not going to do woman's work and he gave her such a severe beating that she died after a few days.

Balsai, a former Chalki of the Umargaon ghotul, lost his temper with his wife Rupoti because though he had a bad throat and cough, she cooked the irritating *dhoba* vegetable for him. He was drunk at the time and gave her a heavy blow with a wooden stool. When I saw him in jail he said that he loved his wife—'it was a mistake, not from my heart'—and that she often visited him in dreams.

Bandi (a thin big-eyed youth, formerly the Kajanchi of Kanera) had two wives. He too quarrelled with them over food. He came hungry and there was nothing ready. He got out his razor and said he was going to kill them. The elder wife ran away, but he gave two deep cuts on the arm and belly of his younger wife. She survived, but was in hospital for months.[2]

I have seen only one record of murder on account of a wife's infidelity. Manglu was the former Kandki of the Amgaon ghotul and his wife had been the Manjaro of the same ghotul. But the girl did not like him and, it is said, would never give herself to him. She ran away twice to the house of a lover at Banakot. The second time a group of people went to fetch her back. As they were returning at night they met Manglu and handed the girl over to him. He gave her a very severe beating then and there in the forest, and a week later she died. Manglu was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

X. The Vocabulary of Abuse

The Muria's vocabulary of abuse is meagre and unenterprising compared to that of other aboriginal tribes. Perhaps we ought not to regret this; it may be a sign of the genial and pacific temper of the people that they put so little of their imagination and colour into their swearing. But I sometimes think that their continual use of one standard and now almost meaningless expression has dulled their inventive powers.

This expression, as common as the English 'bloody' and as meaningless, is the universal *mailotia*. This is a Halbi word meaning 'to lie with your mother', but very few of those who use it so freely intend seriously to suggest that an act of incest has occurred or could occur. Indeed, the way all meaning has been drained from the expression is clearly seen in the fact that a mother can apply it to her own daughter. Girls abuse it at other girls, aunts at their nieces, grandmothers at their granddaughters. There is certainly no Lesbian suggestion here; it probably simply implies 'you are capable of anything'.

[1] For a full discussion of this subject, see my book *Maria Murder and Suicide* (Bombay, 1943).

[2] The elder wife had been the Salan of Sukepal, the younger Belosa of Metawand. Both marriages were regular, the first arranged by the parents, the second a love-match. Bandi told me the two girls got on very well together.

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578 The expression can be varied into *bāplotia* when it is applied to a girl, but this is less common.

●192 Halbi terms of abuse, used by the Muria but not confined to them, are the usual *nakia* or *nakti*—'noseless', a reference to the habit of removing someone's nose as a penalty for adultery; *pachmār*, a girl who goes to five men; *jutaha*, eater of the leavings of others, a thing forbidden by tribal law; and such words as *tolhi*, slacker, and *gadhi*, donkey. As in Chhattisgarh, references to the pubic hairs are common. 'You can't shave my pubic hairs', 'Can you pull out five of my pubic hairs?', 'Do you want to copulate with my hairs?' are expressions sufficiently insulting, but actually to pull out one or two of these hairs and throw them at an adversary is unforgivable.

The Muria can be very rude if he feels inclined—'Come and eat my penis'; 'Eat your mother's excreta'; 'Come and lick my plate'. *Gukhai* means 'eater of human excrement', *masaha* means 'a gluttonous eater of meat'. 'You have nothing in your own house, but run about licking others' plates.' The Muria are perhaps better at taunts than at abuse, a fact which explains the large number of taunt-songs which, sung amicably enough in the ghotul, equip the singers with weapons suitable for sterner business later on.

In Gondi almost the only abusive expressions have an incestuous reference. There are a few others, but I doubt if they are taken very seriously. I once heard a chelik say quite amiably to a motiari who had failed to clean the ghotul, '*Korka men armi hatteke galla ni pendāna jāhano*, A shed-full of buffaloes are scratching your privates'. And in the songs a not uncommon taunt is 'A jungle boar is rolling in your vagina'. I am told that a word *laria* is used with the same intention as the Chhattisgarhi *bhosri*, and means the penis. But more common is the simple *makka*—a hillman may call the people of the foothills *Jhoria-makka* or 'offspring of a lowlander's penis'; a conceited Raj Gond may be told that he is *Ganda-makka* or 'born of a Ganda', one of the despised weaving castes.

But these are rather unusual. When the Muria gets annoyed, he calls to mind the Table of Affinity and works through it, with special reference to forbidden relatives. Thus we get *niya āwān getha*, 'I will copulate with your mother', which is usually said by a man to his own son, or classificatory son, to his daughter or younger brother's daughter; and *niya didi na getha*, 'I will copulate with your elder sister', said by a man to his wife (the elder sister is, of course, in an 'avoidance' relationship).

To a sister's husband, a man may say *Niya ajin penda getha*, or 'I will copulate with your father's mother' and *Niya halena getha*, 'I will copulate with your sister'.

These expressions, it will be noted, do not suggest that the person abused has committed incest or any tribal offence. The speaker proclaims his own intention of doing so—suggesting, I suppose, that his enemy is too weak or too acquiescent to interfere.

Another formula, which can be used in a great many different ways, is a reference to the private parts of various relatives. The Muria go into this with some anatomical detail. They say, for example, *Niya miyar na penda* or 'Your daughter's vagina' but they can also refer to her clitoris—*Niya miyar na titi gutta*—or her *labia majora*, her urethra and her breasts. I am told that a man abuses his sister's son or daughter by reference to their daughter (who is in a forbidden relation to him), and his wife's brother's son by reference to his father's sister who is, of course, his own wife.

These references to one's own wife are the strangest feature of primitive abuse. Nothing rouses stronger passions; nothing—on the face of it—is

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more absurd. A father tells his son or daughter that he will copulate with their mother, an uncle tells his nephew that he will sleep with his aunt. And so he may. But he ought not to talk about it. 598 192

Such a vocabulary of abuse could only effect its object in a society where great stress was laid on family relationships and where the rules of those relationships are strictly observed. It is just because a man never does intrigue with a forbidden relation that the accusation becomes effective and even amusing. If a Muria thought it was really true, he would not say so; for he is a decent fellow, and even in his hottest moments does not want to cause trouble.

The most significant thing about this vocabulary is in its omissions. There are no religious oaths—for they would be too dangerous. There is no suggestion of unnatural offences—for they are practically unknown. There are no references to prostitution—for there are no Muria whores.

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GHOTUL TITLES

The following is a list of titles collected from over a hundred ghotul in every part of the Muria country. I owe many of the derivations and meanings to Mr A. N. Mitchell.

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TITLES OF CHELIK

Achhoy	Hindi. *Achhā* means 'good'.
Adhikar, or Adhker	Hindi. *Adhikār* means 'authority'.
Akilasi	Probably a Mussalman name, Aqal Shah. The latter word always becomes Sai in Gondi and either in its original or corrupt form is common among the Gond.
Aliram	A curiously mixed Hindu and Mussalman name.
Alorsing or Alursi	Gondi. *Alor* is 'one who makes a disturbance'.
Apkari or Atkari	Urdu. An excise man.
Athpahariya	Hindi. 'One who is on duty for eight watches', day and night. Used in Bastar for the village drudge.
Baidar	Hindi. *Bahidār*, a money-lender's accountant.
Baksi	Urdu. *Bakshi*. A common title in northern India among Mussalmans and Hindus. Also a Parsi surname, 'treasurer'.
Bandobast Sabeb	Urdu. A Settlement Officer. Here probably given after a visit to the village of Mr S. M. Ishaque who is widely known in Bastar under this title.
Bandukdar	Urdu. One who carries a gun.
Barko	
Beldar	Urdu. A digger, one who wields a spade.
Belumdar	Gondi. One who owns a *belum* or garden.
Budhker	Hindi. A clever fellow, one who has *budh*, intelligence, used of village officials.
Captan	English. A title usually used of the State Superintendent of Police.
Chajen	Gondi. One who roams about.
Chālau, Chāluk, or Chalān	Gondi borrowing from Hindi *chalāna*, meaning organizer.
Chalki	Hindi. Assistant to a headman.
Chaprāsi	Hindi. A peon; one who wears a *chaprās* or badge.
Chelik-sai	Lord of the chelik.
Chelik-sunder	*Chelik* is Gondi. meaning a 'good-looking, unmarried youth'. *Sundar* is Hindi *sundar*, beautiful.
Chowkidar	Hindi, watchman.
Chutukdar	
Constibail	English. A constable.
Dafedar	Urdu. One in charge of a section.
Daidar	A corruption, through Halbi, of Hindi *dawan*, oppression. Means a 'bully'.
Dakdar	English. Doctor.
Dandasi	Rare.
Dāroga	Urdu. An inspector.
Dewān	Urdu. A Diwan, or Prime Minister.
Dubey	A Brahmin name, contraction of Dwivedi.
Dulor or Dulorsing	Gondi. The word means 'love'.
Engineer	English.
Gaidar	Cowherd(?), from Hindi *gai*.
Gāita	Gondi. A priest.

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Gangedar	Perhaps from Ganga, the Ganges.
Gâred	English. A Forest Guard.
Garhi	From Hindi, *garh* fort, or headquarters (?). Perhaps *chhâlalain*.
Gotul-sai	Gondi and Urdu. 'Lord of the ghotul.'
Gurti	Gondi. Strong.
Hagru	A nickname having reference to defaecation, usually given by parents to deceive hostile demons as to a child's true value. Here it is rather a nickname than a title.
Hardi-garbo	Hindi and Halbi. Refers to turmeric powder.
Havaldar	Urdu. A sergeant.
Hikmi	A Halbi social title.
Ijardar or Ijeldar	Urdu. From *ijara*, a monopoly. Used in Bastar of excise contractors.
Issaldar	Probably from Urdu Risaldar, an officer of cavalry.
Jailer	English.
Jalansai	Gond name, probably corruption of Urdu Jalim Shah.
Jalla or Jallam	Hindi. Means a 'spider's web'.
Jamadar	Urdu. An infantry rank above Havildar.
Jangel Saheb	Forest Officer.
Jelkar	Gondi. A ripple on water.
Jelu or Jeluk	Gondi. An obstructive fellow.
Jhakajhol	
Jhalakwar	Hindi. One who glitters.
Jilen	Perhaps from Hindi, *jila*, thin or fine. Compare English 'skinny'.
Jilmil	Hindi. Mica.
Joler	Hindi. This and the following title suggest a cheat, but Joler is not quite so strong as this. Perhaps 'fibber' would put it better.
Jolma	Probably a variant of the above.
Julpi	Hindi. From *julupâ*, a curl of the hair. Hence curly-haired.
Jhalakrai Jhulukrai	Hindi. From *jhalakna*, to glisten. Hence, one who glistens. Like Lingo, founder of the ghotul.
Jumukdar	Hindi. From *jhumka*, little bells on the ear or ankle, and thus one who carries such bells. These are often worn as ornaments, especially by the Jhoria Muria.
Kajanti	Corruption of *khajânchi*, a treasurer.
Kalbot	
Kâlikdar	Hindi. From *kâlâ*, black.
Kalingsai	Corruption of Hindi *kalgi*, an aigrette on a turban, and *shah*.
Kâmâdar or Kâmdar	Hindi. An agent.
Kandki	Hindi. Village officer in charge of a *khut*, a section.
Kanjus	Hindi. A miser.
Kapatdar	Hindi. From *kapaddâr*, a dressing-boy.
Karu	
Katlami	A Gondi clan-name.
Khuti Manjhi	
Kilârsing	From Hindi *killâna*, to scream.
Kisimsai	Probably a corruption of the name Kasim Shah.
Kopki	
Kosa	Hindi. A silk cocoon.
Kotiya	Hindi. One in charge of the *kothi* or granary.
Kotwar	Hindi. A village watchman.
Kude	Gondi. From *kudâna*, to sit. Thus, one who is always sitting.

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Kusel	Hindi. From *kushal*, happiness. Thus, the happy boy.
Lahardar, Laharu, Laharchi or Laharsing	Used in Gondi to mean a 'dandy', from Hindi *lahariya*, striped cloth. The wearing of some unspeakable striped shirt is regarded as very fast and 'advanced' by the Muria.
Likin or Likhen	One who carves hair combs, from Hindi *likhna*, to write.
Malik	Urdu. A master.
Manikdar	Hindi. One who owns a ruby: precious stones often are girl-symbols.
Manager	English.
Manjhi	Hindi. A boatman or skipper. Used in Bastar for the Headman of a Pargana.
Master	English.
Meliyā	From Gondi *melāna*, to wander.
Mitchell Saheb	Scotch.
Mingur	From Gondi *mirāna*, to run.
Muharrir	Urdu. A clerk.
Mukhwan	From Hindi *mukh*, a face; one who produces people before a panchayat.
Mukkadam	Urdu. A village headman.
Mallyāsing	From Gondi *mal*, a peacock and the name Singh.
Munshi	Urdu. A reader.
Mutra	Hindi. One who urinates. Probably given to a boy who was caught urinating inside the ghotul, or to a bed-wetter.
Nāchem	Hindi. From *nāchna*, to dance. A dancer.
Nākedar	A subordinate in charge of an outpost, *nāka*.
Narhar	A Hindu name.
Nāzir	Urdu. A tahsil official.
Neliya	Gondi. *Nela* means good, hence 'a good fellow'.
Nengi	A Halbi social title.
Nispettar	English. Inspector.
Odsel	English. Overseer.
Oppal	Probably from Hindi, *uppam*, best.
Padru	From Hindi *pādna*, to pass wind. Probably given to a boy who had the habit of doing this inside the ghotul.
Pahardar	Hindi. From *pahar*, a watch. Hence a watchman.
Pāgen	Hindi. From *pāgā*, a turban. Hence one who has a turban.
Pagan-meliya	See above. *Meliyā* is a Gondi word meaning a wanderer.
Paik	Hindi. Paik is a foot soldier. The word is used in Bastar of all subordinate officials.
Pande-Pardhan	The Pardhan are the priests and musicians of the Gond. Pande-Pardhan appears as a court official in some of the Ghotul Pata.
Paseldar	Gondi. *Pasel* is the mung pulse. Hence the title means 'one who owns mung'. Probably given because of the assonance with Tahsildar or Issaldar.
Patwāri	Hindi. A village land record official, originally an accountant.
Pitorka	Gondi. The bulbul.
Pohap Singh	Probably from the Hindi root *phoph*, which in various forms means 'lung', hence anything spongy, hence 'fatty'. The late Willy Forbes, Secretary of the Nagpur Club, was very fat. He was known to the servants as '*Phophas Sahib*' (A.N.M.).
Raje Saheb	Hindi. A king.

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Rânger	Forest official.
Rengo	Hindi. *Rengna* means 'to stroll'.
Rupedar	One who owns rupees or silver.
Saidar	A Hindi social title.
Salâm	An Urdu greeting.
Saledar or Silledar	Urdu Ziledar, one in charge of a district. The Silledar was the armour-bearer of the old Maratha chivalry, and the breeder of mares for the army.
Salho	From Hindi *chalna*, to go. One who goes.
Sâligrâm or Sâligrâi	A Hindi name, Shaligram, described as meaning a stone linga of the Hindu god Mahadeo.
Salya or Selya	A local, but not Gondi, word *sal*, meaning (?) pangolin.
Sanker	Eastern Hindi, meaning morning.
Sikandâr	A Mussalman name.
Sileh	Gondi *sile*, clothing (Hindi *sina*, to sew).
Singga	From Hindi *sing*, a horn.
Sipâhi	Urdu, a soldier.
Sirdâr	Urdu, a chief.
Sirajdâr or Sirasdar	Urdu, Sarishtedar, a judicial moharrir.
Sirkil	English, Circle Inspector of Police, probably named after the popular Thakur Manbahal Singh, who for long held this position.
Subedâr	Urdu, a military officer.
Sudher	Halbi, *sudh*, cleverness, hence a clever fellow.
Suen or Suwel	Gondi corruption of Hindi *kuâ*, a well.
Sulhi	Probably corruption of Hindi *chula*, an oven. Hence 'cook'.
Suluksai	A Gondi name. Sai is the same as Shah.
Sunder	Hindi. *Sundar*, beautiful.
Surjut	Hindi *suraj ki jyoti*, the brightness of the sky.
Tabu	
Tahsildar	Urdu. Revenue official.
Tekedar	Hindi. A Tekadar is one who farms the revenues of a village on payment of a quit-rent.
Tel-dundi	Hindi. An oil-press.
Tindka	From Gondi *tindâna*, to eat, perhaps 'hungry or greedy one'.
Uden	From Gondi, *udâna*, to sit. Hence one who sits down. Compare Kude.
Ukwar	Gondi. A mattock.
Vakil	Urdu. A pleader.

Titles of Motiari

Achboke	Gondi adjective, good.
Aloss	Gondi adjective, pleasant-spoken.
Anbaiko	Perhaps from Marathi *ana*, bring, and *wah*, root of Gondi *wehnânâ*, to say, and female termination *ko*. Hence 'she who tells one to bring things'.
Beldarin	Feminine of Beldar, q.v.
Beloss	Perhaps derived from the bel tree.
Chaiko	Gondi. One who talks nonsense.
Desoda	Hindi name.
Duloss	Corruption of Hindi *dulocha*, soft.
Galje	Gondi. The noisy one.
Gandri	Hindi and Halbi, one who smells bad. Probably a derisive nickname rather than a proper title.
Haliyâro	Hindi *haliya*, a herd or flock, hence cowherd or shepherdess.

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APPENDIX THREE

Jaimo	
Jalaro, Jalāri or Jaliyāro	From Hindi *jalna*, to burn, perhaps 'hot stuff'.
Jalko	Gondi. A ripple. Compare Jelkar.
Jamadarin	Feminine of Jamadar, q.v.
Janakrāi, Janko, Jaunko or Jankāi	Hindi names.
Jhelo	Gondi. A splash of water.
Jilmili	Hindi. Mica. Compare Jilmil.
Junki	Gondi. Tinkling.
Kotwarin	Feminine of Kotwar, q.v.
Lahari or Laharo	From Hindi, *lahar*, a wave.
Malko or Malkārose	Gondi. *Mal*, a peacock, a girl like a peahen.
Manjāro	From Hindi root *manj*, middle. Perhaps the second of three sisters, or one who holds a secondary place after the ghotul leaders.
Mankai	Hindi *mānāna*, to obey, hence the obedient one.
Mette	English mate in a gang, with a Gondi feminine termination.
Mulāri or Mulāro	Probably from Hindi *mulya*, value, hence 'precious'.
Mulki	From Urdu *mulk*, country. Thus 'country lass'.
Mutri	Feminine of Mutra, q.v. But not necessarily, in this case, his ghotul mate.
Nirosa	A Sanskritic word meaning 'clean'. There does not seem to be such a word in Hindi, but the meaning is definite. The word exists in Halbi, and it may be connected with *niraj*.
Piosa	From Hindi *pina*, to drink. Perhaps one who drinks a lot of palm-wine or 'the thirsty one'.
Rani	Hindi. A queen.
Saidarin	Feminine of Saider, q.v.
Saile	Gondi. Friendly.
Salko	Feminine of Salya, q.v.
Samsāro	The patient one. *Samsar* is Halbi for patient.
Sargi	Hindi for the sal tree.
Siliyāro	Gondi *siliya*, a vegetable.
Silo	Hindi cloth or clothing (*sina*).
Singāro	Hindi *shringār*, adorned.
Sulāko	From Hindi *chula*, an oven. Hence perhaps 'cook'.
Surtān	Hindi *surta*, thought. Hence 'thoughtful'.
Surti, Surto or Surtel	Hindi, tobacco. One who distributes tobacco to the chelik.
Tiliyāro	From a pulse. Probably given for its assonance with Jaliyaro or Siliyaro.
Tiloka	From the Hindi name, *triloki*.
Tulki	
Tusro or Tusāro	
Ujhro or Ujhāro	Gondi. White.

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THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL

104 **parās, kal-buriya (orki)** A small gourd ladle kept in the pot.

siti (kari or **katki)** The leaf-pipe that directs the juice into the pot.

Love and Love-making

[192] The Muria are inarticulate on this subject. There seem to be few, if any, Gondi words to express emotional or abstract conceptions. They borrow from Halbi or Chhattisgarhi when they wish to do so.

bichār wātu (man, bane) Desire.

girda ātor To be in love.

girda kiyāna To make love. *Girda* means 'pleasure' or 'liking'.

jugti bikti, mohini (H) A love-charm. **Jugti** suggests an invisible being adept at playing conjuring-tricks, **yukti**, in the cause of love.

maya kiyāna To love.

maya pirit, perem (H) Love.

Marriage Ceremonies

beni pehchāna (beni guthto) Tying the plaits.

bohala, chaura Earthen platform below the booth.

dulha, dulhi (Ha) The bridegroom and bride. It is curious that there are no Gondi words for this.

ghari wersāna, chawk Pattern drawn on the **chaura** platform.

harpān pārin (samdhin bhet) Formal greeting between mothers-in-law.

kalsa (Ha) A decorated pot with a **diwa** lamp above it.

lagin, lagir The final ceremony, the essential binding part of the rite.

mānda (Ha) Marriage booth.

marmi, marming (bihao) Marriage.

neyi rehāna (tel utrāto) Anointing with oil from head to feet; making the oil come down.

neyi tarhāna (tel chaghāto) Anointing with oil from feet to head; making the oil climb up.

pargeh, pargāw (Ha) Ceremonial bringing in of the marriage party.

pārin johār (samdhi bhet) Formal greeting between fathers-in-law.

pungār mihchna The betrothal, lit. 'Plucking the Flower'. Also called **talk dāyna** or 'Going to Beg' and **pungār kurki** or 'Seeing the Flower'. In Halbi **mahala** or **sagai**.

rupiyān payāna, karch yetāna To pay or take the bride-price.

sikla karsana, toli usna (chikal mundi) Bride and groom play in the mud together.

tika (H) Ritual greeting of bride and groom by placing a mark on their foreheads.

torun (Ha) String of mango leaves tied round the booth.